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ABSTRACT

The study on which this monograph is based was a first attempt to investigate what happens to the black male college graduate after he enters the white business firm. The data were obtained from interviews in the summer of 1971 with 500 black male professionals and managers employed in private industry. The respondents were chosen from the files of Recruiting Management Consultants, Inc. and represented the ten cities having the largest number of blacks in the labor force, excluding Washington, D.C. and Newark. Of the surveyed black men, most were college graduates, young, with few years of work experience. Slightly more than half were satisfied with their career progress; and most reported good relations with white coworkers, supervisors, and subordinates; but three out of five felt that they did not have the same opportunities as whites in their firm. The validity of their assessment may be substantiated by the fact that only 62 out of a possible 230 white supervisors agreed to be interviewed. (AG)

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A STUDY OF BLACK MALE PROFESSIONALS IN INDUSTRY

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Monograph No. 26
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A STUDY OF BLACK MALE PROFESSIONALS IN INDUSTRY

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FOREWORD

This monograph is based on a study, and on the report on that study, by Recruiting Management Consultants, Inc. (RMC), of black male college graduates in private industry. 1/ The idea for the study was conceived by Dr. Howard Rosen, director of the Manpower Administration's Office of Research and Development, and the project was conducted by RMC under research contract 81-36-71-07. The study was planned and supervised by Miss Evelyn Freeman, executive vice president of RMC. Miss Freeman also planned and supervised the tabulation and analysis of the data and wrote the full report. Charles L. Fields, RMC president, was responsible for conducting most of the interviews, with assistance from David A. Scott and Catherine L. Cullars, of the RMC staff. Dr. Edward J. Keyes was responsible for interviewing all of the white managers and analyzing that portion of the data.

Dr. Theresa R. Shapiro of Louisiana State University in New Orleans wrote this monograph, performing additional analysis of the RMC data in the process.

There are some small differences in emphasis between the full report and the monograph, but these are to be expected, particularly when the basic survey developed multiple measures of attitudes and self-perceptions about job progress and satisfaction, from which a selection was made for presentation in the monograph. These differences do not, however, affect the most important findings of the study.

1/ The full report, "A Study of Black Male Professionals in Industry," may be purchased from the National Technical Information Service, 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22151.

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INTRODUCTION

The 1960's saw a marked improvement in the educational level and economic status of blacks. The proportion of Negro male college graduates almost doubled between 1962 and 1972--from 3.6 percent of all Negro men to 7.1 percent. 1/ Similarly, the proportion in professional, technical or managerial positions (including proprietors) increased from 7 percent of all Negro men employed in 1959 to 13 percent in 1971. 2/ Gains seem to have been especially sharp--and recent--in large companies; the black man's proportion of all professional, technical and managerial positions in firms with 100 or more employees virtually doubled in the 4 years from 1966 to 1970--from 3.7 to 7.1 percent. 3/

At the same time that medium and large firms were stepping up their recruitment of black college graduates, stories were being circulated about tokenism. Instances were cited of men given high-sounding titles and high visibility but few and vaguely defined duties--something to do with public relations or community relations--or in those firms with black blue-collar workers--industrial relations. Cases were also related of graduates of black colleges hired as accountants with the salaries of accountants but assigned to what were essentially clerical duties. There were many other variations on the theme, but the motif was always the same. Black college graduates were hired for window-dressing--to demonstrate to the Civil Rights Commission or to a Federal contract compliance officer that the firm was an "equal opportunity employer."

This study is a first attempt to investigate what happened to the black male college graduate after he entered the white business firm. Was he really shunted into a corner where he could "do no harm" or was he assigned the same kind of job he would have been given if he were white? What about his chance of getting ahead? What salary increases did he receive, and how far did he go? Above all, how did his progress compare with

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1/ Manpower Report of the President Including A Report on Manpower Requirements, Resources, Utilization, and Training by the United States Department of Labor (Washington: U. S. Department of Labor March 1972), p. 203.

2/ 1959 data from Educational Attainment of Workers, 1959 (Washington: U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics 1960), Special Labor Force Reports No. 1, table K; 1971 data from The Social and Economic Status of the Black Population in the United States, 1971 (Washington: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1972), Current Population Reports Series P-23, No. 42 p. 67.

3/ 1972 Manpower Report of the President, p. 280.

that of a white of similar background and ability? How had he fared in the past? Could he expect to do as well in the future? These are the questions for which answers were sought.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The answers were provided by a 1971 survey of 500 black men employed in private industry. All but 16 were college graduates, and 28 percent held graduate degrees. Three out of five had specialized in business administration, science, engineering, or law in their studies.

The majority were young and had relatively few years of work experience. Close to two-thirds were under 35 years of age. The group had an average of 6.5 years of experience in private industry, and few had any other work experience.

A wide variety of industries were represented in the survey and a broad range of business activities. But the largest group, close to 40 percent, were engaged in a service at the corporate level--in such activities as personnel, legal services, industrial relations, and public relations. Relatively few, 27 percent, held supervisory or managerial posts. The median salary at the time of the interview, the summer of 1971, was $14,389.

Slightly more than half of the men were satisfied with their career progress. And, in comparing their progress with whites in their department of similar background, about half thought they had advanced as well and about one-fifth felt they had done better, whereas over nine-tenths felt at least as well qualified. Relations with white coworkers, supervisors, and subordinates were also reported as good or excellent by most of the men.

Nevertheless, 3 out of 5 of the surveyed men felt that they, as black business professionals, did not have the same opportunities as whites in their firm. Their comments indicated that the basis for this view was expectations concerning the future. The men felt that there was a ceiling on how far they could go, and that the ceiling was rather low. The fact that so few of the surveyed group had attained supervisory or managerial positions and that average salaries did not increase beyond the ninth year of service, though some of the men had worked for the same firm more than 25 years, suggests that the respondents' evaluation of their situation was based on observation and experience. If the future were to mirror the past, their attitudes were realistic.

Another possible indicator of the realism of the black men's appraisal is found in the reports concerning equality of opportunity of those white supervisors who agreed to be interviewed. These were not typical: This part of the study yielded only 62 usable interviews out of a possible 230.

And possibly the interest of the interviewed managers in their black subordinates biased their judgment. Slightly more than half of them reported that their firm did not offer equal opportunities to blacks. Considered separately, the opinions of so select a group as these white managers would not be a reliable piece of evidence, but considered in conjunction with the reports of the large group of blacks, they carry weight. They reinforce the black's pessimism concerning the future. As one of the managers pointed out, management tends to be reluctant to accept members of minority groups.

THE SURVEY METHODS

The data for this study were obtained from personal interviews in the summer of 1971 with black male professionals and managers employed in private industry. All 500 of the respondents had been employed in private industry for at least 1 year, though 13 were no longer in private industry at the time of the interview.

Most of the names of these respondents were chosen from the files of Recruiting Management Consultants, Inc., which had in the 9 years of its activity, built up personnel information for a large number of black college graduates. Budgetary limitations precluded interviewing in all areas, and it was decided to limit the interviewing to 10 cities. The cities chosen were the 10 having the largest numbers of blacks in the labor force after Washington, D. C., and Newark, which were excluded in the interests of greater geographic dispersion. The number chosen for interviews in each city was determined by that city's share of the 10-city nonwhite labor force in 1970. 4/ Thus Chicago's 390,000 nonwhite labor force was 13.8 percent of the 2.82 million nonwhite labor force in the 10 cities combined, and this meant that 13.8 percent of the 500 interviews planned for the study were scheduled for Chicago. The projected and actual numbers for each of the 10 cities are shown in appendix table A.

It will be seen there that an effort was made to stratify the sample by industry in each city. This proved impracticable, because too few blacks held managerial or professional jobs in certain industries. As a result, however, the respondents came from a wide variety of industries, with some from every two-digit census urban industry except construction in every one of the 10 cities. 5/ For all the cities taken together, finance, insurance, and real estate (combined), transportation and utilities, and manufacturing of nondurables were overrepresented in the survey

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4/ Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1970 (Washington: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1970).

5/ The number of enterprises in each two-digit industry shown in the 1969 Handbook of Labor Statistics was used to assign city percentages. For example, the data indicated that 20.1 percent of U. S. concerns were engaged in retail trade. Hence, 14 of the Chicago target of 69 respondents were allocated to retail trade.

when compared to their share of firms in these cities, and retail trade and construction were markedly underrepresented. (See appendix table A.)

The effort to achieve a representative industry sample necessitated going beyond the files of Recruiting Management Consultants. Names of additional black professionals in industry were obtained from firms in the industries studied. However, most of the 500 respondents were chosen from the files of Recruiting Management Consultants, in accordance with the stratified random sample design shown in appendix table A.

As the description of the methods used in choosing the surveyed group indicates, the men in the study are not a random sample of all black men working in a managerial, technical or professional capacity in private industry in 1971. In fact, they constitute a small proportion of that group; in 1970, over 5,000 minority men were employed in these occupations in firms having 100 or more employees. 6/ The data are of interest, however, because they provide new information for a group about which almost nothing is known.

One of the aims of the study was to compare black employees' perceptions of their ability and achievement with their superiors' opinions. And an effort was made to interview a sample of the managers. However, most of the managers who were contacted did not wish to participate in the study so that the managers' sample is clearly a biased one. It is discussed in detail in the last section of this monograph.

THE SURVEYED GROUP

Education

Few blacks held responsible positions in private industry prior to the 1960's when, under the impetus of Federal policy and the Civil Rights Act of 1964, both the number of blacks attending college increased sharply and corporations began actively to recruit blacks. As would be expected then, the typical respondent was a young college graduate: Two-thirds were under 35 years of age and held the baccalaureate degree. About 30 percent had received advanced degrees, and some 3 percent--16 respondents--had attended but not completed college. The most common graduate degree was the M.B.A., held by 12 percent of the respondents, with the M.A., the LL.B., and the Ph.D., in that order of frequency, accounting for the remaining. (See table 1.)

6/ 1972 Manpower Report of the President, p. 280.

Table 1. Degree Level and Field of Study, Black Male Professionals in RMC Study, 1971

Degree		Percent
All levels and fields:	Number	500
	Percent	100.0
Bachelor's:	Business administration	28.0
	Other	40.4
Master's:	Business administration	12.0
	Other	8.0
Law		5.4
Ph.D.		3.0
Some college, no degree		3.2

The B.B.A. was the most common undergraduate degree. Two out of five respondents had received either a B.B.A. or an M.B.A. Another one-fifth also received training directly transferable to business--in science, engineering, or law. (See table 2.) The remaining degree holders came from a wide variety of disciplines including education. In fact, a tenth of the respondents had been teachers before they entered private industry.

Over half of the men (55 percent) attended "white" colleges as undergraduates and close to 90 percent of those with graduate degrees

Table 2. Field of Training of Black Male Degree Holders in RMC Study, 1971

Field		Percent
All fields:	Number	484
	Percent	100.0
Science		7.4
Engineering		8.7
Business administration:	Bachelor's	22.9
	Master's	12.4
Law		5.6
Other		37.0

NOTE: Items do not total 100.0 because of rounding.

received them from "white" graduate schools. This reflects the fact that 89 percent of the respondents lived in the North or the West and 55 percent of these had been brought up in the region where they lived in 1971.

Employment

As was noted above, the respondents were employed in a wide variety of industries, with the largest single group (42 percent) in manufacturing, in approximately equal numbers in durables and nondurables. (See appendix table A.)

The men were also engaged in a wide variety of tasks, from legal services to production management. By far the largest group, 2 out of 5, were performing a service at the company rather than the departmental level. This group includes the 27 lawyers in the study; the remainder were scattered over a wide variety of service functions--personnel, pub-

Table 3. Functional Employment Area, 1/ Black Male Professionals in RMC Study, 1971

Area 1/	Number	Percent
All areas 2/	487	100.0
General management	45	9.2
Finance	78	16.0
Production	19	3.9
Marketing	111	22.8
Research	22	4.7
Services	193	39.6
Other 3/	19	3.9

1/ General management refers to department heads, division chiefs, and company directors or owners (3 respondents were in the last category). Finance refers to all management financial functions, including controlling, budgeting, cost control, and credit management. Manufacturing includes engineering, production management, and quality control. Research refers to scientific or technical product research. Services include personnel administration, legal services, and public relations.

2/ Excludes 13 respondents not currently employed in industry.

3/ Thirteen men in this group were engaged in evaluating methods and results of operations and in developing new business.

NOTE: Items do not add to 100.0 because of rounding.

lic relations, technical writing, and purchasing, for example. Marketing and finance were the two other areas with substantial numbers--23 percent and 16 percent respectively. Although 15 percent of the respondents had been trained in science or engineering, only 5 percent were engaged in research, and only 4 percent in activities connected with the management of production. (See table 3.)

As these figures imply, most of these men were in staff rather than in line positions and few had supervisory or managerial responsibilities. About three-fourths were technical specialists. Only 23 percent were supervisors and even fewer, 4 percent, were employed at higher managerial levels. In part, no doubt, the concentration of the respondents in nonsupervisory positions reflected their youth and the relative brevity of their experience in private industry. The average was 6.5 years. But the concentration may also have been due to the reluctance of management to integrate blacks into line operations, so they rarely acquire the experience required for managerial positions.

Earnings

There was a wide range of salaries among the respondents at the time of the survey--from under $10,000 to over $25,000. The median was $14,389. (See table 4.) No data are available for comparison with similar groups of either blacks or whites, but the scant available information suggests that these men were relatively well paid. For example, the

Table 4. Salary Range, Black Male Professionals in RMC Study, 1971

Salary		Percent
All salaries:	Number	473
	Percent	100.0
Less than $10,000		13.5
$10,000 to $13,000		28.5
$13,000 to $16,000		20.7
$16,000 to $19,000		14.4
$19,000 to $21,000		9.1
$21,000 to $25,000		5.5
$25,000 and over		8.2
Median salary		$14,389

median income of all Negro male college graduates in 1971 was $10,448 and the comparable white median was $13,305. 7/

A number of factors determine professional salary levels, including the field of specialization, the highest degree earned, and the years of experience. The sample was too small to permit a detailed analysis. Only the length of service in the firm of employment at the time of the interview (the "current" firm) is analyzed. For the majority of the respondents this is synonymous with the years of experience in private industry, an average of 6.5 years as compared with 5.13 years in the current firm.

Despite differences in degree levels and fields of specialization, there is a fairly close relation between the length of service and salary. As table 5 shows, the lowest average salaries were reported by the group with less than 2 years of service and the highest by those who had been

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7/ Income in 1971 of Families and Persons in the United States (Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1972), Current Population Reports, Series P-60, No. 85, p. 115.

Comparison of these data with those for the study group is risky, because of differences in characteristics between the groups. For example, the study group is decidedly younger than the universe of white college graduates and the relationship between age and income differs between white and black men. Furthermore, the study group includes a few men who were not college graduates and excludes self-employed workers, such as physicians, who are included in the graduate group.

Table 5. Average Salary in 1971, by Length of Service with Company, Black Male Professionals in RMC Study

Length of service	Number	Average salary
Less than 12 months	4	$13,500
12-23 months	57	13,159
24-35 months	59	14,488
36-47 months	60	14,746
48-59 months	53	14,039
60-71 months	50	15,012
72-83 months	38	15,968
84-95 months	35	18,133
96-107 months	21	15,737
108-119 months	17	19,382
120-179 months	42	19,697
180 months or more	43	19,570

with a firm 9 years or longer. However, the limits to advancement seem to come rather early in the men's careers. Thus, average salaries in the survey group were at approximately the same level in 1971 for the men with 9 to 10 years' service and those with 15 years or more in their firm. The figures must be read with some caution; after all, some of the men were making $25,000 or more. In addition, the similarities in the averages may conceal differences in levels of education and fields of specialization. The data do suggest, however, that there is an effective ceiling on black advancement in business, together with a limit on the kinds of jobs for which they are accepted.

JOB AND CAREER SATISFACTION

It is clear from the foregoing that the respondents earned relatively high salaries and experienced considerable stability in employment. The question remains as to how well they fared compared to similar whites. Ideally, this question would be answered by comparing the black respondents with whites of similar background, both in terms of the objective facts of occupation and career progress and also in terms of job satisfaction. This ideal could not be met within the limits of this study: It reports only the black respondents' experience and their assessment of it.

Career Progress

The men were not specifically asked if they liked their work, but the interview questions and their answers do measure job satisfaction indirectly. The questions were, "Are you satisfied with the sequence of positions to which you have been assigned to date?" "What position do you feel you would like to have 2-3 years from today if you remain with this company?" "Do you feel that your aspirations can be achieved in this company?" "Do you feel that you have been given work that is challenging and that carries responsibilities equal to your ability?"

For the questions dealing with experience, the majority of responses were positive. Slightly more than half of the respondents found their work challenging and their responsibilities equal to their abilities. The same proportion were satisfied with the sequence of their positions. On the other hand, a substantial minority were dissatisfied with their career progress and/or the level of responsibility required by their jobs as compared with their abilities, as shown below:

Dimension of work	Percent reporting-- Satisfactory	Unsatisfactory	Sometimes satisfactory	Uncertain
Sequence of positions in company 1/	53.3	38.1	--	8.6
Responsibility on current job	53.4	24.1	21.0	0.6

1/ Excludes those to whom question was deemed not applicable.

Inevitably, questions concerning the future elicited a larger number of "uncertain" responses than did those referring to the present or past. About a fifth of the respondents did not know whether their near-term career goals would be met within the companies which employed them at the time of the survey, and over a fourth had not decided whether they wished to remain with these firms. However, the proportion who expected to achieve their near-term career goals within these firms and/or planned to remain with them was surprisingly high--about 45 percent.

Because the future is always fraught with uncertainty and because so many men were undecided about their future course of action, the exploration of factors which might account for differences in job satisfaction was limited to the two variables, satisfaction with career progress and with the level of responsibility required by the job as compared with the respondent's estimate of his ability.

There was a positive correlation between the level of a position (technical specialist, manager of workers, manager of managers) and satisfaction with both progress in the firm and the level of responsibility of the position. To some extent, of course, rank and satisfaction with career progress measure the same thing. Presumably the higher positions are themselves measures of progress and normally carry with them more responsibility. Still, the fact of increased satisfaction with job progress points to one of the causes of the expressed dissatisfaction, namely, the lack of progress. Moreover, other studies have shown a high correlation between satisfaction with all facets of a job and either the status of a position or the progress made in achieving it. 8/ The figures are shown below:

Level of position	Percent reporting 1/-- Satisfied with present position	Responsibility equal to ability
Technical specialist	48.9	49.7
Manager of workers	66.4	66.1
Manager of managers	86.7	80.0

1/ Excludes those to whom questions were deemed not applicable.

Although many studies have found that engineers and scientists are often dissatisfied in private industry, there were few noteworthy differences between the engineers and scientists in this survey and the other

8/ The close relation between job satisfaction and high upward mobility within a firm is reported by Edward W. Lehman, "Opportunity Mobility and Satisfaction Within an Industrial Organization," Social Forces, June 1968, pp. 492-501. Edward Knoll and Norman Bradburn found that people with high prestige positions were more likely to be "very happy" than others and to consider their job the best they ever had. "Work and Happiness," paper presented at the 63d meeting of the American Sociological Association, 1968, and abstracted in Social Abstracts, vol. XVI.

degree holders in the proportion satisfied with their progress in their current firms. 9/ But the lawyers were significantly different from the other respondents: Three-fourths of them as opposed to slightly more than half of all degree holders were satisfied with their promotions--possibly because lawyers in private industry are usually well paid and have well-defined duties.

Salary, taken by itself, however, is not necessarily an indication of satisfaction. There were no remarkable differences between salary levels in the proportion satisfied with their career progress.

Career Progress Compared with Whites

Whatever dissatisfactions these black professionals may have had with their job and salary progress, about two-thirds thought they had fared as well as or better than the whites in their departments with similar backgrounds and abilities. (See table 6.) Three different criteria were used for this comparison--education, ability, and experience--with little difference in the results. For each, about one-third of the men reported less progress than comparable whites in their departments, close to half equal progress, and about one-fifth felt they had gone further than comparable whites. 10/ These proportions should be evaluated in light of the fact that more than 9 of every 10 blacks felt their qualifications were equal or superior to those of their white counterparts.

9/ For a good summary of the literature, see William Kauser, Scientists in Industry (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962). All the studies described there, as well as more recent ones, use satisfaction with the job, rather than with job mobility as the dependent variable, however.

10/ Those respondents who had little contact with whites were more likely to view their progress pessimistically. For example, 53 percent of those who had not visited whites or entertained whites in their homes in the year prior to the interview thought their progress less than that of comparable whites, as opposed to 31 percent for the group who did have such contacts.

Table 6. Perception of Career Progress as Compared with Whites in Department, Black Male Professionals in RMC Study, 1971

Perception of progress	Comparison with whites of similar-- Education	Ability	Experience
All perceptions: Number 1/	479	478	476
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Greater	23.0	20.7	22.3
Equal	45.5	45.2	43.3
Less	31.5	34.1	34.4

1/ Excludes those to whom questions were deemed not applicable.

Equality of Opportunity

Despite the fact that a relatively high proportion of men felt that their progress had been equal to or greater than that of comparable whites, the great majority of the respondents (59 percent) thought that they did not have equal opportunity with whites in their firm. Close to two-thirds also thought company policies and programs for equal employment opportunity for blacks ineffective. The respondents were not specifically asked why they felt as they did, but some of their comments are illuminating:

> Blacks are not in the mainstream of management. We do meaningful work to aid the overall operation of the company, but we are in few, if any, decisionmaking positions. Blacks are mainly collectors and organizers of information. The concept of working your way up is futile for blacks.
>
> There is no mobility for blacks in industry. Can't make the move from a supervisory position to a management position.
>
> Attitudewise, my company seems to project a very negative attitude toward blacks. This is seen in the type of management that they have. The company has hired blacks but they are not promoting them into management.
>
> The banking industry has enabled me to learn a tremendous amount about finance. I have some doubt as to my going as high as the average white with my background. I hope this study will do something about increasing upward mobility for blacks in industry.
>
> From what I've seen, most corporations have passed the point of letting blacks in the door at the bottom level. The problem now is upward mobility. Blacks meet more resistance the higher up they go. Blacks need the opportunity to fail as well as to succeed without the pressures of knowing the doors will close if one of them does get a chance and fails.

As these remarks indicate, what many of the men had in mind when they referred to inequality of opportunity was their evaluation of future opportunities. They felt that their chances of advancement into higher levels than those they already occupied were quite poor. And although there may have been a degree of unfounded pessimism in this view, the position seems to be confirmed by the facts referred to in the preceding pages--the tendency of salaries to reach a plateau at about the ninth year of service, and the very small proportion of the respondents in supervisory and managerial positions.

Those who did hold such positions were also more likely to think their companies offered blacks equality of opportunity. Thus, 22 percent

of the technical specialists, 30 percent of the supervisors, and 56 percent of the managers thought that in their firms black professionals enjoyed equality of opportunity with whites. 11/ No doubt the optimism of the managers and the pessimism of the specialists reflected their experience, though these differences in attitudes may also reflect the policies of various firms. Very likely ,however, the more important source of diversity is the "view from the top." 12/

RELATIONS WITH WHITES IN FIRM

For many people, relations with fellow employees are an important source of satisfaction on the job. Acceptance by coworkers offers psychological support; recognition by a superior is an indication of achievement; the cooperation of subordinates is necessary for accomplishment. For blacks, who have only recently entered the managerial ranks of business and whose footing there is still insecure, these relationships can be crucial. There is considerable self-consciousness on the part of both races in these encounters, and the blacks must smooth the way. Advancement often implies skill in interpersonal relations, and the ability to get along with strategically located whites may be even more important for black professionals than performance on the job.

The surveyed men had considerable contact with whites, although generally not those with whom they worked. As was noted earlier, well over half of the group attended "white colleges" or graduate schools. The majority also lived in more or less integrated neighborhoods, though not in the suburbs. And over three-fourths both entertained whites in their homes and had visited whites in their homes the year prior to the interview. Moreover, such contacts were fairly frequent. Three out of 10 respondents reported 13 or more such personal-social contacts with

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11/ Like all the others cited in the text, these differences are statistically significant at the .05 level or at a higher level of significance.

12/ Two other groups differed from all the respondents in their views on the question of equal opportunity: The lawyers and those residing in Houston. The proportion of lawyers reporting equality of opportunity was 48 percent as opposed to 25 percent for all respondents. The Houstonites were at the other end of the scale: 89 percent of them felt their companies did not offer black professionals equal opportunity with whites. The Houstonites were consistently more dissatisfied than the other respondents. Thus, only 23 percent of them were satisfied with their progress in their firm as opposed to 51 percent of all respondents and 27 percent felt their responsibilities equal to their ability as compared with 53 percent of all respondents. Houston is the only city in the Deep South represented in the survey, and the dissatisfaction of these respondents may reflect a greater discrimination in that region. However, since only 26 people were interviewed in Houston and these were not chosen on a purely random basis, the results may also be due to sampling bias. Sampling bias may also be a factor in the lawyers' attitudes.

whites in the year before the interview, and another 27 percent, 5 to 12 personal-social contacts. (See appendix table B.) Only 13 percent had neither received whites in their homes nor been invited to white homes.

More than three-fifths felt that their relations with white superiors, coworkers, and subordinates were good or excellent. Relatively more rated their relations with superiors and subordinates excellent than reported excellent relations with colleagues. It is possible, however, that the greater need to get along well with underlings and superiors as compared with coworkers may also lead to greater self-deception. In any case, the reported differences, shown below, are small.

Quality of relation	Percent reporting specified relation with white--		
	Superiors	Coworkers	Subordinates
Excellent	39	28	33
Good	30	36	39
Fair	26	33	25
Poor	5	3	3

Relationships with white coworkers varied directly with salary, age (which to some extent coincides with salary), and the extent of social contacts with whites. The higher salaried men, the older men, and those with frequent social contacts with whites in the year prior to the survey were those most likely to report good or excellent relations with white coworkers. (See table 7.) For example, less than 40 percent of the men earning under $10,000 a year felt their relations with white coworkers were good or excellent as opposed to 85 percent of the men with salaries of $25,000 or more. Similarly, about half of the respondents reporting two or fewer personal, social contacts with whites also reported good or excellent relations with whites as compared with more than 7 out of 10 of the men who had 13 or more such contacts in the year prior to the survey. Though these relations are clear, the direction of the causation is not. It is possible that ease in dealing with whites contributes to a black professional's success. But it is equally possible that a good job smoothes the way for a black man in relations with whites, both on and off the job.

SURVEY OF WHITE MANAGERS

The research plan called for 100 interviews with the white superiors to whom the black respondents reported. No superior was to be contacted without the specific approval of the respondents concerned. Although 230 black participants in the survey agreed to have their immediate superiors interviewed, only 61 usable interviews were secured. Letters were written to all 230, and 85 replied affirmatively, but some of these were not free during the period scheduled for interviewing in their cities, others canceled appointments, and a few interviews were contaminated by the presence of another official of the corporation. Clearly, then, the managers who

Table 7. Evaluation of Relations with White Coworkers, by Age, Salary, and Number of Social-Personal Contacts with Whites, Black Male Professionals in RMC Study, 1971

Age, salary, or number of contacts	Total		Good or excellent	Average or poor
	Number	Percent		
Age (in years) 1/				
All ages	485	100.0	63.7	36.3
Under 25	39	100.0	51.3	48.7
25 through 29	130	100.0	53.8	46.2
30 through 34	150	100.0	65.3	34.7
35 through 39	78	100.0	71.8	28.2
40 through 49	64	100.0	71.9	28.1
50 and over	24	100.0	79.2	20.8
Salary 2/				
All salaries	462	100.0	62.3	37.7
Less than $10,000	62	100.0	37.0	63.0
$10,000 to $13,000	132	100.0	57.5	42.5
$13,000 to $16,000	94	100.0	58.9	41.1
$16,000 to $19,000	68	100.0	70.6	29.4
$19,000 to $21,000	42	100.0	73.8	26.2
$21,000 to $25,000	26	100.0	80.8	19.2
$25,000 and over	38	100.0	86.8	13.2
Number of contacts in preceding year				
All numbers	487	100.0	63.4	36.6
Less than 2	57	100.0	50.4	49.6
3 or 4	60	100.0	57.5	42.5
5 through 12	87	100.0	68.9	31.1
13 and over	148	100.0	72.3	27.7

1/ Differences significant at the .005 level.
2/ Differences significant at the .001 level.

were interviewed were a select group, with a favorable view of the blacks they supervised. 13/ Perhaps managers less friendly to their black subordinates did not choose to participate in the survey.

Most of the interviewed managers were department heads in service areas, for example, purchasing or industrial relations. The black men in the study whom they supervised were promoted from within the company, and all but one-tenth of the managers thought these employees met or exceeded the standards for promotion. Similarly, 4 out of 5 rated the work performance of these black subordinates as good or excellent. Close to three-fourths also thought that these subordinates had high potential for further advancement within the company.

The warm view held by the white managers of their black subordinates was reciprocated. A somewhat higher proportion of the "matched" blacks than of the entire group of black respondents reported that their relations with their superiors were good or excellent, 77 percent as compared with 69 percent, with the difference accounted for by the high proportion reporting excellent relations, 48 percent as opposed to 39 percent for all respondents.

In some other respects, however, the "matched" black professionals closely resembled the entire group of black respondents. This is seen in the following comparison of negative responses to questions concerning their companies:

Subject	Percent responding negatively	
	"Matched" professionals	All professionals
Equal opportunity for blacks in company	61.1	59.2
Effectiveness of company's equal employment opportunity policies	57.9	63.9
Expected achievement of near-term aspirations in company	32.2	32.6

As these figures suggest, the black respondents' evaluations of their companies were not influenced by their relations with their white superiors. Nor did the white managers' appreciation of their black subordinates result in a shared perception of company programs and policies with respect to equal opportunities for blacks. As table 8 shows, the managers tended to believe that company policies of equal employment opportunities for blacks were effective, whereas blacks rarely held this to be the case. There was also a divergence between managers' and subordinates' perceptions concerning equal employment opportunity for blacks, with 48 percent of the managers, but only 28 percent of the workers believing their companies afforded blacks equal opportunity with whites.

13/ These interviews were conducted by a white psychologist.

Table 8. Attitudes of White Managers and Their Black Male Professional Subordinates on Equal Opportunities for Blacks, RMC Study, 1971

Subject	Percent responding affirmatively	
	Managers	Black professionals
Existence of corporate programs for equal opportunity for blacks.	89.7	48.3
Effectiveness of corporate programs . .	75.5	28.1
Perception of equal employment opportunity for blacks	48.1	27.8

Even when allowance is made for the bias of the managerial group, the fact that a majority did not perceive equal opportunity for blacks tends to confirm the employees' pessimistic evaluation of their future careers. On the other hand, the divergence in the attitudes of management and black workers cannot be overlooked. It indicates that business corporations have not convinced their black professionals--at least those in this study--that equal opportunity exists.

APPENDIX TABLES

Table A. Actual and Projected Numbers of Interviews with Black Male Professionals, by City and Industry Group, RMC Study, 1971

City	Total	Construction	Manufacturing		Transportation, utilities	Trade		Finance	Services
			Durable goods	Nondurable goods		Wholesale	Retail		
Total: Actual. . .	500	7	110	98	55	27	50	63	90
Projected .	500	28	103	73	39	33	100	30	94
New York:									
Actual.	110	0	25	32	7	2	9	12	23
Projected	112	6	23	16	9	8	23	6	21
Chicago: Actual. .	69	1	17	17	7	2	9	5	11
Projected	69	4	15	10	5	4	14	4	13
Los Angeles:									
Actual.	69	4	16	17	10	2	3	3	14
Projected	66	4	14	10	5	4	13	4	12
Philadelphia:									
Actual.	64	0	16	8	6	5	4	13	12
Projected	64	4	13	9	5	4	13	4	12
Detroit: Actual. .	49	0	9	5	8	4	6	7	10
Projected	47	3	9	7	4	3	10	3	8
Baltimore:									
Actual.	33	0	9	5	6	2	2	5	4
Projected	35	2	7	5	3	2	7	2	7
San Francisco:									
Actual.	35	2	2	2	6	3	4	8	8
Projected	35	2	7	5	2	3	7	2	7
Houston: Actual. .	26	0	6	3	3	3	5	2	4
Projected	27	1	6	4	2	2	5	2	5
St. Louis:									
Actual.	24	0	5	5	1	3	5	4	1
Projected	25	1	5	4	2	2	4	2	5
Cleveland:									
Actual.	21	0	5	4	1	1	3	4	3
Projected	20	1	4	3	2	1	4	1	4

TABLE B. Distribution of Contacts with Whites Through Informal Association in Year Preceding Interview, Black Male Professionals in RMC Study, 1971

Frequency of contact	Type of association				
	Casual neighborhood contact	Informal community affairs	Social-personal contact	Formal community work	Political activity
	Number of respondents reporting				
Total	500	500	500	500	500
None.	89	130	63	179	247
1 or 2	53	100	62	111	136
3 or 4	108	110	89	72	40
5 through 12	99	64	137	53	36
13 or more	151	96	149	85	41
	Percent of respondents reporting				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None.	17.8	26.0	12.6	35.8	49.4
1 or 2	10.6	20.0	12.4	22.2	27.2
3 or 4	21.6	22.0	17.8	14.4	8.0
5 through 12	19.8	12.8	27.4	10.6	7.2
13 or more	30.2	19.2	29.8	17.0	8.2

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